177 of the Tampiitíua inhabitants. This presence is made perceptible through the complex made up of diseases, of the fantastic stories of tribal members who went to the Araguaia, of the domineering behavior of White visitors, and of the latter's display of "riches." The effects of this type of [99:177] inter-ethnic pressure vary from culture to culture. Among peoples of vitality, they may arouse responsive forces which are manifested, for example, in the creation of new magical devices among aborigines, or in improvements in airplanes, tanks, or propaganda techniques among those who regard themselves as more "civilized." Among other peoples, however, they may cause resignation instead of resistance, and bring about what might be called a "cultural shrinkage," that is to say, a disregard for their own things without a concomitant desire to replace them with new ones, whether new creations of their own or imports. Thus, it seems possible to me that this pressure may have caused the Tapirapé to lose interest in certain traditions that did not seem to them to possess any immediate value in the struggle for existence. [Ed., end of Vol. 99.]

Chapter 4

[100:191] Contact with Other Indians

While it is possible to discern, up to a point, the effects of the direct and indirect contacts with the Whites, it is more difficult to perceive the influences derived from other Indian tribes. [726] I have already alluded to the murderous acts the Kayapó and Karajá and to their role as transmitters of epidemics and importers of iron tools. It must be added that the Karajá, aside from acting as intermediaries, also furnished products of their own culture, such as songs. I dare not, however, formulate hypotheses about the 171 ●535 origin of the masked-dance complex as a whole, to which these songs belong and which is one of the most characteristic aspects of both Tapirapé and the Karajá culture. The Tapirapé attach special importance to the masked dances of the chankuf, that is, jacuf [Tr., little jacu or guan] and of the iranchá, a fish. They perform them daily for weeks on end. Karl von den Steinen (2, [114] 313), when dealing with the masked dances of the Indians of the

[71] Xingu headwaters, writes that the dance of the jacuí ("yakuí") is
●535 "original to" the Auetö and Kamayurá [Camayura], that is, the
[144] Tupí tribes of the Culuene basin and thus the eastern part of that region which is separated from Tapirapé territory by the waters of the Xingu and the Araguaia. Furthermore, [100:192] both the Auetö and the Kamayurá had two kinds of masked dances, the dance of the jacuí and that of a fish called koahálu among the former and hövát among the latter (ibid., 310-317). True, the masks used by those tribes (ibid., Figs. 107-114) differ completely from the masks made by the Tapirapé. In addition, what little may be inferred from the brief references to the dancing and songs of those Xingu Indians (ibid., 313-315) discloses no similarity to the chankuí and iranchá performances. On the other hand, the Tapirapé also differ from the Karajá in the design of their masks, their songs, and their dance motions.

Thus, the complex of masked dances that extends between the Xingu and the Araguaia assumes special forms in each of the above-mentioned tribes, and these forms, although they hint at a mutual relationship, do not reveal which of the tribes was the first to use masks or where it got the idea to do so. It can only be said
[648] that there are no historical data to substantiate contact between the Tapirapé and the tribes of the Culuene basin, while age-old relations between the Tapirapé and the Karajá are thoroughly documented. [Ed., the remainder of this section in Vol. 100, pp. 192-198, and the section in Vol. 101, pp. 67-75, are omitted.]

[102:123] While in Tampiitáua no one bothered with the
648 neighboring Kyrydjá [Tr., Ge-speaking, in this case Chavante] to the south, the Kayapó neighboring on the north, called Kananchahó, were mentioned frequently and with feeling. When dealing with the "Karajá of the Xingu," I referred to them and to the fear they inspire. I was informed that in 1932 they had de-
[726] stroyed a large Tapirapé village located "ten days' march" north of Tampiitáua and killed most of its inhabitants. According to
[731] other reports, an epidemic depopulated that village and compelled the survivors to abandon it. No matter what the cause of this
648 mortality may have been, fear of the Kananchahó undoubtedly con-
166 tributed to the desire of the survivors to put as much distance as possible between themselves and these neighbors and to take refuge in the southernmost village of their tribe, that is Tampiitáua. The

648 same feeling, the same fear of the Kananchahó, aroused even in
166 the inhabitants of this latter village a desire to abandon it and to
settle under the protection of the Whites on Bananal Island. Rev-
797 erend Kegel told me that when he arrived at Porto Salvação in
166 1934 he was visited by Kamairahó who came to the river bank
64 especially to ask him to come back, to have large boats built,
and to take the entire tribe to Macauba. The reason for this re-
quest was fear of the Kayapó. It was assumed that they had killed
20 men and women from Tampiitáua who had not returned from
a hunting trip. Mr. Kegel told the most influential man among
the Tapirapé that it would be impossible to feed the whole tribe
since there was no longer time to prepare plots on the land of the
Evangelical Union.

When we heard the harrowing cry of the potoo during the
648 night of June 23, 1935, the Tapirapé took this as a sign that the
[825] Kayapó were coming. Four days later, at night, as I stretched out
on my net beside Kamairahó's hammock, the Indian "bigwig" said,
"I am afraid." I retorted, with the courteous arrogance proper to
a "captain [chief]" of my rank, "I am here, and therefore you
need not be afraid." A little later [102:124], Kamairahó inquired,
[123] on account of the Kayapó, whether I had with me the "little killer,"
as we used to call the revolver to differentiate it from the "big
killer," or rifle. I told him that I always slept well armed, and he
laughed happily.

● [535] At the nocturnal group dances, the men hold a heavy club or
[411] bush knife in their hands, and this is not just to mark time since
during the day they find an arrow or bow adequate for that purpose.

On the evening of July 8, as I talked with Mr. Kegel in front
of the little house beside the village which had been built for him
and camarada Daniel, several men and women came running, one
of the men holding a bush knife and another a club, and they told
us excitedly that there were Kananchahó in the neighboring forest.
Followed by an Indian, I proceeded immediately to the spot they
had pointed out. We found nothing, and I calmed the Tapirapé by
telling them that the Kananchahó were sleeping very far away.
They returned in silence to their hammocks, and a middle-aged
woman merely said, "They will come when the moon goes to
sleep."

648 125 When I stretched out in my hammock, Kamaiahó, who was already lying in his hammock with his wife, smiled at me as usual and greeted me courteously with the customary "papaneké (you have come)." I asserted, no less decorously, "Hm, hm, ẽ, ẽ." He went on, still smiling, "Kananchahó around. Kananchahó coming. I'm afraid." Although he did not seem particularly scared in spite of this statement, I calmed him with a few words as I had done with the others, and he immediately laughed, changed the subject, and jested with his wife.

648 609 Later, it became evident that the presence of Kayapó in the neighboring forest had been invented by Anavanĩ, a somewhat foolish youth of about 17. On the following morning he confessed that he had lied. He probably wanted to make himself important. The general readiness to believe him shows the state of mind of the Tapirapé toward their feared neighbors. Incidentally, on the day when Kamairahó showed me the smoke pillars of the "Ampaneã" to the southwest, he showed me a similar display by the Kayapó to the north.

The non-material defenses show that the Kananchahó are regarded as the Number One enemy. Although the Karajá are also feared, only the northern neighbors, by what I was able to observe, are the object of parodies, violently abusive songs, and mocking pantomimes. On June 24, the Tapirapé, in a weeping tone, sang [533] a seemingly obscene chant about the Kananchahó, which aroused [531] endless laughter. It was sung in the men's house, where other [522] youths gave a ludicrous impersonation of those enemies, emitting [536] their would-be tribal cry, running and jumping crazily hither and yon, gesticulating with angry excitement, and hitting the house stakes with their clubs. At the same time, in front of the house, [535] other men accompanied by the women and children danced and sang the kaõ, the danced song that derives its warlike character not only from the weapons in the hands of the warriors and from their serious look, but also from the powerful rhythm of stamping feet and the menacing quality of the guttural sounds.

536 726 [102:125] While all this pertains to night performances, another spectacle took place two days later in daylight. It was a dramatization of the supposed Kayapó attack on the 20 Tapirapé who had failed to return from the hunt during the previous year. Six youths, holding on to each other in friendly fashion two by two,

536 726 with the pairs one behind the other, walked peacefully from house to house. They hummed a song. The first two pairs carried a blanket on their back, and the last pair carried a straw mat. A masked man followed, bent forward, dancing and shooting arrows at the mat. After a while the pairs lined up one beside the other and stayed put, humming their song, while the masked figure emitted the Kayapó tribal cry and danced in menacing fashion, stepping always on the same spot. A little later, the walk was resumed. This scene was repeated several times. Suddenly, however, when the pairs were standing still once more in front of a hut, two masked "Kayapó" rushed headlong from behind it, and four others emerged from behind the neighboring house. All [177] these "Kayapó" had bows or clubs in their hands and were completely disguised with hammocks, blankets, and other belongings of the White guests. Their faces were covered with sifters, and my straw hat had also found a use. While the three Tapirapé pairs kept walking as peacefully as before, the masked figures alternately ran furiously hither and yon, giving their typical cry, and performed a circular dance. In this dance, some of them faced the back of the man in front while others were turned [535] toward the man behind. They all jumped on one leg and then the other, tossing their arms and legs about and gesticulating with their weapons (Photo. 73). After repeating all this several times for half an hour, the "Kayapó" attacked one another and quarreled among themselves. Then the Tapirapé pairs quietly broke up and vanished.

This performance, therefore, contrasts the mildness which [91] is indeed the tribal behavior pattern of the Tapirapé with the nervous aggressiveness of the Kayapó. This seems to be a symbol of universal significance, when we look at the pacifists and militarists in other parts of the world.

609 773 The opinion of the Tupí tribe about the nature of these neighbors seems to be expressed even in their mythology. While the Karajá are regarded as descendants of a water serpent, the ancestor of the Kayapó is tantevoga, the tick. One of the proofs of kinship with those bugs, my informants say, is the falsetto tribal cry that they attribute to their northern foe. This proof, although it might not satisfy a biologist, is sufficient for the ethnologist. Actually, everyone knows that the tick is a pesky nuisance.

1/A [i.e., the Kayapó.--Analyst]

[71] houses, since in both cases the structures stand around the central
[36] plaza. The chief difference lies in the fact that the large men's house stands in the center of the Tampiitaua plaza, while according to all references and pertinent woodcuts the Tupinambá village plaza had no building whatever in the center.

There seems to be a closer similarity between Tapirapé and Munduruku [Mundurucu] villages. [Ed., the remainder of p. 106 and all but the last paragraph on p. 107 are omitted.]

[111:107] On the plan of Tampiitaua (Fig. 8), the arrange-
[96] ment of houses around the takana clearly reveals two semicircles
[62] standing [111:108] at some distance from each other, one on the
[6] northern side and the other on the southern side. The largest house in each group stands in the middle of the others, so that these two larger houses, a and e, stand more or less opposite with the takana between them. The important kauihó dance, which
[535] will be described in a later chapter, was performed first in house a, and immediately afterward by the same persons in house e. In various masked dances, the pairs, when crossing the village plaza, moved alternately from one of these houses to the other. The
[622] heads of the two houses, Kamairahó and Vuatanamy, not only were the main leaders of Tampiitaua, but also performed as a pair in one of those dances. It is thus possible that they represented the "patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties" mentioned by Wagley (4, 7 [Tr., in English at 4, 63]).

[59] According to that author (ibid.), Tapirapé residence is matri-
[14] local. At the time of my stay in Tampiitaua, there were eight couples with living ancestors: (1) in house a, the couple designated by the numbers 3 and 10 on the village plan (Fig. 8) lived with No. 1, that is, the husband's father (the husband's mother and the wife's parents were dead); (2) couple 11 and 16, in the same house, did not live with No. 29, that is, the wife's father, in house b (the husband's parents and the wife's mother were dead); (3) couple 13 and 18 lived in the same house, a, as No. 8, that is, the husband's mother, and this was also the house of 17 and 24, that is, the wife's parents (the husband's father was dead); (4) couple 29 and 36, in house b, did not live with No. 22, that is, the wife's mother, in house a (the husband's parents and the wife's father were dead); (5) couple 33 and 42, in house b, lived

171 411 25 centimeters wide and 12 centimeters in circumference on the above-mentioned Karajá club which is in my possession. Both specimens are made of heavy wood. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

411 [724] [578] In hand-to-hand fighting, to kill at a short distance, the club is usually preferable to the arrow. The Tapirapé will also grab their clubs when quarreling with a member of their own tribe, but in spite of this menacing gesture the quarrel is usually limited to a string of verbal insults. While in daytime dances the men of 411 535 Tamplitaua held in their hands an arrow or bow, and only exceptionally a club, in the kaó, or great nocturnal group dance, they held clubs and bush knives. These weapons were not used largely to mark time, as was the case with the bow and arrow in the daytime dances. They were displayed to make clear the character of kaó, which, as shown also by the intonation of the accompanying chant and by other elements, is basically a martial one. Furthermore, when equipped with clubs and bush knives, the warriors [721] stood ready every night to repel any dreaded attack by their Kayapó neighbors. As far as hunting is concerned, it must be re-224 called that the density of the forest vegetation and the height of 411 the grass in the savanna frequently ruled against the use of bow and [137] arrow and impelled the Indian to attack from a short distance, that is to say, to use the club. In spite of this, during the march between the village and the river I observed that all the men carried [683] bows and arrows, while they did not all carry clubs. Another specialized function of the Tapirapé club is to kill those people who are regarded as evil sorcerers.

114 411 [439] [171] The Tapirapé spear (yvyra-hâia, "pointed stick," or mina, "spear") may have been imported from the Karajá. There are no references to spears among the ancient Tupinambá or among the upper Xingu tribes. In Montoya's work (2, II), however, we find the terms ibirâhaquâbae, "pointed stick" (haquâ, "point") and my, "spear, prong." I did not see any spears while I was with the [535] Tapirapé, but at Macauba on Bananal Island, Mr. Frederico Kegel showed me one that he had brought back from a previous visit to those Indians, and told me that they used it exclusively in their 171 411 dances to mark the time, in the same manner as the above-mentioned weapons. This spear resembled the Karajá spear (donolí) described by Krause (2, 272-273 and Fig. 126). It was likewise a

224 pig killed on July 14 was brought to bay by Tapirapé dogs. Krause
23 (2, 407) found numerous tracks of Tapirapé dogs on a sandbar of
the river that goes by the same name. The same author (2, 345
and 386) mentions dogs belonging to the Karajá (kjolonã in their
171 language) and the Kayapó. According to the Tapirapé, the
231 Ampanaí stole young dogs from them. The complete absence of
[649] dogs in the upper Xingu region, which was noted by Von den
Steinen (1, 326) in 1884, was confirmed in 1924 by Hintermann
(255).

224 I was unable to obtain a satisfactory explanation for the following custom, which was related to me by my companion Kegel: the Tapirapé, after killing game, place a number of small sticks, corresponding to the number of animals killed, at the spot where they re-enter one of the paths used by the tribe; they tear each stick slightly and insert a feather or a few hairs of the slain animal in the resulting slit. I encountered the same custom in 1946 among the Kaingang [Caingang] of the upper Ivaí. There, the Indian Salvador Veiniã, after hunting baitaca [Tr., parrots of the Pionias genus], plucked a few feathers from one of these birds in my presence and tossed them beside the path. This same Kaingang, while in [112:59] the company of my assistant Harald Schultz, once found a stick lying on a footpath with two clusters of tateto hair in its split upper tip, and he said that two of those wild pigs had been killed at that spot and that the stick with the hair had been left there by the hunter to impart the news to passersby.

I did not observe any magic with the explicit purpose of catch-
224 ing or multiplying game. It is uncertain whether the animal dances
533 and songs which I shall describe in the chapter dealing with re-
● 535 ligion [Tr., apparently not published] have such a purpose, or
whether their aim is merely to express joy. The Indians themselves
[226] say that there is a lot of fish when they sing, but that there is also
a lot of fish when they do not sing. To judge from this statement,
the animal songs and dances are not hunting magic. The Tapirapé
533 sing and dance because they like to sing and dance. For this reason,
535 also, they borrowed songs and dances from the Karajá. It would
177 be necessary to find out (1) whether the animal dances and songs
were originally magical, (2) whether anyone still regards them as
such, and (3) if so, who does. I was unable to settle these questions.

533 In any case, the greater part of the animal dances and songs
●535 that I witnessed dealt with fish. Only the dance of the chankui,
that is, "little guan," was also performed frequently. A dance
[171] by this name is mentioned by Von den Steinen (2, 313) for the
[137] Auetö and Kamayurá as "original" to these Tupi tribes. Actually,
those gallinaceans of the Penelope genus, which are easy to catch,
abound in Tapirapé territory, and their tasty meat is not barred
to either sex. It would be possible to build fine hypotheses about
the connection between these facts and the above-mentioned
dance, but I shall abstain.

The predominance of fish dances accords with the importance
226 of fishing. The chief fishing period lasts from June to October.
During these months, the waters are low and clearer, and in many
[133] places it is possible to see all the way down to the bottom. The
small streams gradually dry out, and the fish are compelled to
crowd into certain stretches of the river and into the lakes. The
latter lose their connections with the river, or they are closed off
artificially with dams, observed by Krause (2, 409, Fig. 7, and
267, Plate 29), which consist of stakes connected with crosspieces
and covered with thick foliage.

The areas thus dammed are poisoned with a vine called chimá
in Tapirapé. The Indians pound the water with pieces of this vine,
and call the procedure anchimaká. The water turns a purplish blue.
Only the very small fry are killed, however. Other fish are stunned.
[312] To get drinking water the Indians dig holes in the banks, which
sometimes lie no farther than one meter from the poisoned waters,
but whose contents, filtered through the sand, are harmless to man.
[Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

[112:60] Another Tapirapé fishing method, which I have already mentioned, is with the bow and arrow. While the large barbed arrow is used exclusively by adult men, the small one with one or several simple wooden points is used by the boys. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

At Tampiitaua I saw a fish trap (chekiá) consisting of a cylin-
227 drical, funnel-shaped basket made of cane strips (Photo. 32).
Aside from this, the Indians showed me a strange object, according to them, used to catch the tiniest fish, which is placed in the water, like the trap, in such a way that the current makes it easy for the fish to get in and impossible for it to get out. This object

its opening facing downward. As a result, it served us nicely to wash our clothes on. It had apparently been made just to pass the time and did not seem to have any further purpose. The Tapirapé do not usually travel in boats, differing in this respect from the Tupinambá and from most of the present-day Tupi tribes (cf. Métraux 2, 207-211), from the Xingu Indians (Von den Steinen 2, 234), and from the Karajá (Krause 2, 278), but not from the Kayapó (ibid., 383). The Chavante, who do not have canoes either, cross the Rio das Mortes on the crude rafts described by Snaffka. It is worth noting, however, that the Tapirapé retain the old Tupi word for "canoe," that is, yana, written yam by Stradelli and considered by him (715) "a contraction of y, 'water,' and iara, 'mistress,' 'mistress of the water.'" In any case, it is not impossible that the Tapirapé formerly possessed canoes for navigation.

As far as fishing is concerned, let us also mention Manggambí's "dream." The people of Tampiitaua often say that they dreamed of something which they actually suspect or know about. Manggambí was the fattest Tapirapé at the time of my visit. He dreamed of an abundance of fish at a specific spot in a certain stream, [112:62] which held so many fish that the anchinga would be able to eat them in large quantities. The name anchinga is applied not only to certain spirits, but also to the masked dancers who represent them. All the anchinga who inhabit the hills and waters feed on fish. This Tapirapé belief, incidentally, is a token of the importance of fishing. Manggambí said that "all" the men should go and fetch the fish he had dreamed of. What Tampiitaua regards as "all" the men did go. They were Manggambí himself and eight companions. When they returned, Manggambí held a large basket full of tiny fish, which were cooked and eaten shortly before dawn in the ceremonial house by the men and adolescents who had impersonated [in the dance] anchinga, chankuí [a bird], and irangchá [a fish]. [Ed., end of Vol. 112.]

[113:191] Although fishing is one of their chief means of subsistence, the Tapirapé cannot be regarded essentially as a fishing tribe, as their neighbors the Karajá might fittingly be described. The inhabitants of Tampiitaua do not lead the amphibian life of those big-river navigators. They are forest Indians and cultivators par excellence. In this respect, they remain typical Tupi Indians.

[781] [226] 825 262 252 [263] Since the information provided by such dreams is readily accepted, they organize collective fishing trips. Fish constitutes their main source of animal fat and calcium. The calcium comes from the bones, [120:55] crumbled into a strongly spiced sauce, their favorite breakfast food. This is a cold dish, but the flesh of the fish is eaten on the previous day, good and hot, and invariably accompanied by manioc flour. I caused general amazement when I ate small roasted fish for the first time in Tampiitaua, and did so without manioc flour. My friend Vuanomaachi said that fish without flour is bad, gesticulated and spat as though he were smelling bad odor, and wanted to get up and fetch some of his own flour. A woman who was eating seated by my side immediately offered me hers. Of all the pictures in the zoological book that I showed them, it was always those of fish that aroused the greatest interest.

[535] [553] [754] The majority of the masked dances I witnessed dealt with fish, and there is an unmasked dance in which most of the text of the song consists of the word ypirá. It was this generic term for fish that I also heard almost invariably when I asked for the cause of a disease. This did not mean, however, that eating fish had been harmful to the sick person, but that a fish bone had been shot into his body as a magic projectile by an evil sorcerer. They also say

[776] that all the spirits of the hills and of the waters eat fish, and do not mention any other food for these spirits. Furthermore, as already stated at the beginning of this chapter, fish, along with

[772] manioc, is the only food included in the Tapirapé description of the second heaven, that is, the mythical invisible heaven that lies above our visible one. They do not fail to add that in this case "very fat fish" are involved. [Ed., a paragraph is omitted.]

136 Concerning head lice, I wish to mention in passing the fact that I never found any on my own body during my stays among various tribes, in spite of the fact that much lousy hair came in contact with mine and that I did not take any special preventive measures. The same proved to be the case among other Whites who stayed with South American Indians. I also know of a blond young man on whose head lice of the Krabo [Craho] Indians settled without biting.

1:Baldus--171 E-6 (1935,1947)1964-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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Photo. 5

The dancers of Photo. 4, with Pancheavĩ (No. 78) and Manupavyughoi (No. 12) to the right of Inamoeso (No. 23).

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Photo. 6

Manavangkó (No. 87) with a bone tembetá. Auayauĩ (No. 93) is on his left.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

a male leader, a man of prestige, who is usually the husband of one the older women of the female kinship group. Apart from these residential groupings, the Tapirapé are divided in two other ways.

First, all Tapirapé men belong to one of the two patrilineal non-exogamic ceremonial moieties (2) and each moiety is further divided into three age grades. There are consequently two groups of youths, two groups of adult men of warrior age, and two groups of older men. Each of these groups bears the name of a mythical bird, the word wirá — bird — itself being used as the generic name for the groups. These wirá function as units in hunting and in clearing garden sites; parallel groups also dance against one another in the ceremonials and offer reciprocal feasts to each other. The warrior-age group of each of these moieties has a "walking leader" for hunting excursions and other communal work and a "singing leader" for ceremonials.

Both men and women of the Tapirapé are also divided into eight "feasting" groups called tãtãpawã — literally "live all to eat" (3). Men belong to their father's feasting group and women to their mother's. Feasting groups are not only non-exogamic but people prefer to marry with their own group so that husband and wife may attend feasts together. These groups carry names of the mythological heads of the legendary original eight households of the first Tapirapé village. On occasion during the dry season the feast groups meet at sunset on the dance plaza for a ceremonial feast, each member bringing his or her contribution to the common meal (4).

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(2) Baldus (op. cit. pp. 95-98) did not recognize these wirá groups as age groups of men's ceremonial moieties. He calls them grupos de trabalho (work groups). He reports three wirá groups among the adult men and writes that formerly there had been three corresponding groups among the boys of the tribe. Nowadays the Tapirapé are so few that lacking older men, younger men pass prematurely into the older men's wirá group in order to give the necessary balance for ceremonials. This presents the picture of several groups of equal ages; thus accounting, perhaps, for the divergence of opinion on this subject. Careful checking with informants, and observation of dances, hunts, races and wrestling matches when Tapirapé men were grouped according to moiety divisions led me to the definite conviction that there are age grouping of men's ceremonial moieties as described above.

(3) Baldus (op. cit., p. 90).

(4) Baldus calls the tãtãpawã "grupos de comer" (eating groups). He reports seven feast groups functioning in 1937. He vividly describes a ceremonial meal on pages 91 to 95 of his work already cited.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ančánga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ančánga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [532] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pančé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. [774] Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iangé*, the soul, may free itself [528] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ančánga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, breeds of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the *air* in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikananncowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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[777] (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not [523] universally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from [777] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

other side of the Araguaya. There it is that the sun comes up. I saw Thunder; he is big and his body is covered with white hair. He had many feathers of the red parrot. I saw many tapi and many souls of shamans near him. I did not talk but returned fast". He added later that if he had touched Thunder's rattle he would have had to stay in the other-world; he would have died.

A few novices, and now and again a rare layman, wore the headdress and people marveled at their courage. Most Tapirapé men, however, did not have the courage to wear it.

The headdress added danger and violence also to the sundown phases of the ceremony on the third and fourth days of the ceremony. At the height of the excitement, when it was apparent that both the powerful shamans had sighted creatures of Thunder, Panteri grabbed the headdress, which was hanging from a rafter, and waved it in the air, threatening and challenging these enemies. He fell immediately, stricken by a *pancé-tánwera*. Urukumu picked up the headdress. He too then fell unconscious and all the participants with him. The two young boys, as before, ran through the circle of houses at the end of the day's ceremony, but this time they carried both the rattles and the headdress. The participants, on regaining consciousness, returned singing to their houses.

On the fourth and last day of the ceremony, an additional ceremony followed the usual evening performance. As the ceremony ended, the two strong shamans walked out of the house to the dance ground, taking the rattles and the headdress. There they and several others re-enacted, but with less violence, the ceremony just completed in the dwelling house. Following this performance, all the men of the village gathered, facing north "toward the house of Thunder", and Panteri walked across the plaza away from the group, toward the north, shaking the rattles over his head. Returning to the group, he touched several men on the head with the rattles, much as a priest performs a blessing with a crucifix. He repeated this performance until finally all the men who had taken any part in the ceremony had received this "blessing". Women, then children, came forward to be touched with the rattles. Thus they were freed of danger from Thunder. After this, I was told, Thunder goes far away to his house until next year.

That evening men sang the songs of the *ančánga aiwiri*, the spirits that come to live in the dance house after Thunder has gone. Late

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
SP22 Tapirape SP22

that same evening the men danced single file over the circuit, starting from the large house where the principal ceremonies had been held. As they danced, they sang that Thunder had gone and all was safe again (31).

During the four-day period of the combat against Thunder and his creatures sexual intercourse had been taboo; but on the night after Thunder leaves "all Tapirapé will have intercourse with their wives and many women will become pregnant". Traditionally, women are freer with their favours for a few days after this ceremony. People, however, sometimes break the taboo against sexual intercourse during the period of Thunder's visit and so bring trouble on themselves and their tribe. Panteri reported: "I was weak when I returned from Thunder's house. Many mosquitos drank my blood on the road. This was because Tapirapé men were with their wives. I dreamed that night and saw many Tapirapé having intercourse and knew that Tapirapé would be bitten by many mosquitos when they called Thunder".

CONCLUSIONS

It is apparent that in studying Tapirapé shamanism we are concerned with patterns which are part of a deep-seated New World shamanistic complex found widespread in both North and South America — from the Eskimo to the Ona and Yahgan of Tierra del Fuego. Among the Tupi-guarani peoples, however, shamanism has been an unusual factor in their cultural history. Dr. Alfred Métraux has shown that the numerous and distant migrations of Tupi-Guarani tribes in post-Columbian times were frequently instigated my powerful shamans (32).

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(31) During this serpent dance, one may steal of corn which are hanging from rafters in the houses through which they pass. Youngsters did steal some corn and women run after them trying to get it back. There was now much gaiety and laughter.

(32) "Seules la vénération et l'autorité dont ces magiciens bénéficiaient, peuvent expliquer la facilité avec laquelle des tribus entières ont consenti à abandonner leurs villages et leur territoire à la recherche d'un pays purement fabuleux" (*in* Alfred Métraux. 1931. "Les hommes-dieux chez les Chiriguano et dans l'Amérique du Sud", *in Revista del Instituto de Etnologia de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán*. T. II, p. 66).

See also the same author's: 1927. "Les migrations historiques des Tupy-Guarany" *in Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*. Nouvelle Série, T. XIX.

264 574 476 [262] 431 574 [622] [177] 264 476 574 [554] 123 [597] 264 574 535 [776] 132 574 796 224 264 476 574 [462]

[92] At sundown of the following day, large pots and plates of various foods were carried to the dancing plaza and placed in six sets. These sets tallied with the eating groups. The Kauuanõí, owing to their small numbers, had joined the Ãvãinkĩ˜ to form a single group. All those who could do so brought something to eat for their group. There were bananas, peanuts, peanut flour, boiled fish, fish sauce and manioc flour spiced with peppers, several varieties of kará [Tr., a kind of yam], peanut kãuí, etc. Before that, there was a great distribution of gifts. Each individual offered those people for whom he had special liking or esteem part of his precious possessions, such as beads and similar things. The chiefs received the greater part of this. One man had received three pairs of scissors and found no better use for them than to wear them as pendant ornaments.

Later, the eating groups sat around their pots. Beside them lay the ashes of burnt-out fires. The members of each group squatted together, men, women and children, and ate of everything as they pleased. Kamairahó, the principal leader, got the best piece, a chunk of chicken, and with his usual courtesy shared it with me, his brother. We called each other "Txankanépéra," and Ampitánya, his little adoptive daughter who sat between us, shouted to me, "Ané Txankanépéra," and I called her by the same terms. The people in the other groups also called me "Txankanépéra," and I called them by the name of their group. We were all in very high spirits.

[93] All the participants in this feast sat so close together that there were no spaces whatever between the groups.

Within a quarter of an hour, everything had been eaten. The pots and plates were removed, and the people scattered. Night came. The plaza was taken over by the masked dancers. They represented "the good shadows" [spirits]. All the "evil shadows" had taken kãuihó and vanished. The bad rainy weather, with its attendant hunger and illness, the "winter" of northern Brazil, was over. Now began the dry season with its "good shadows," summer.

They say that at the time of the harvest, around September, they also hold one of these common banquets for all the eating groups.

On July 15 I had the opportunity to watch the tãtáupáũa of an eating group. On the previous day, a man of the Ãvãinkĩ˜ had killed with a club a wild pig brought to bay by the dogs. The task of roasting the meat at home fell to the women belonging to this eating group. In payment for this work they were allowed to keep at home certain parts

264 476 however, is totally different from that of the tãtáupáũa. It is not a group organization for consumption, but for production. For this reason, also, the feasts in specific groups associated with this institution are merely accessory.

The social significance of apatxirú resides in the possibility of sharing a collective task in such a way that no member of the tribe will [461] feel discredited by an unfair assignment. This is done by turning work into a festive occasion and a sports competition.

"When there is a lot of water everywhere in the rainy season, the [776] ãũvanaí 'shadows' live in the takána. Their headdress and breechcloth [291] are of muriti leaves, but their headdress does not have any macaw [535] feathers. [96] They dance through the entire rainy season. At that time, there are no other 'shadows' (antxína) but them. Unlike other 'shadows,' these do not live in the hills or in the waters, but only in the takána. They do not sing, but only grunt in a low voice. During [261] the moons of the great rains, the belly does not get as full as during the dry season. But the ãũvanaí have to eat. Then they go to the gardens and 'steal.' They take what they stole to the takána, where they eat it. In the apatxirú, we prepare the gardens where they seek their food. They 'steal' only from those gardens that are prepared for them alone. The ãũvanaí are not evil. All Tapirapé men are ãũvanaí.

Such is, in summary, the information I received when I asked the purpose of the common gardens prepared in the apatxirú.

For the apatxirú, all Tapirapé men are divided into three work-groups called vuíra. The word vuíra means "bird," and the name of [551] each group designates a mythical bird which is represented not only by the group as a whole but by each of its individual members. They are called Tãnãvé, Anantxá, and Vuirantxinió.

The Tãnãvé group was the smallest one at the time of my visit, [624] but it included the individuals of highest social status: the principal chief, Kamairahó; the second chief, Vũãtanamĭ́; the chief and most [123] eminent sorcerer--medicine man, Urukumĭ́; and myself. (Naturally, Kamairahó stated immediately that I would be a Tãnãvé like himself.)

[97] Each of the three work groups has two leaders called ãntaĭva. 264 The ãntaĭva of the Tãnãvé were Vũãtanamĭ́ and Urukumĭ́. (Although 622 Kamairahó was also a Tãnãvé, he seemed to be the head of all three 476 groups in his capacity as principal chief. He is also the only one whose 651 private plot is prepared by the village inhabitants as a collective endeavor, while the private plots of other tribal members are prepared

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476 only by their respective owners. I do not know, however, whether
[622] the three groups we are discussing here are involved in the prepara-
[651] tion of the principal chief's garden.)

The ãntaiva of the Anantxá were the chief Tanupantxóa and
[624] Vuiraí, and those of the Vuirantxinió were the chief Kamairá and the sorcerer--medicine man Maninohó.

476 In the old days, the boys of the tribe were divided into three
857 groups corresponding to the three work-groups of the men. They were called Vuanankóra, Vuirantxína, and Vuirantxinoí. The last one is now extinct. The boys whose fathers are Tãnãvé or Anantxá belong
[611] to the first one, and the sons of the Vuirantxinió to the second one. The third group also consisted in the past of boys whose fathers were
[881] Vuirantxinió. They say that the adolescent enters his father's work-group at his initiation and becomes a member of it for life.

The boys' groups accompany the three work-groups of the men in
[1462] all their endeavors. The female sex does not belong to this institution, for "the women and girls stay home when the men do collective work."

[98] They say that each apatxirũ group has its specific ornament
301 for certain dances, but these are usually held at a time of year when I
476 was not with the Tapirapé. The Tãnãvé wear three large red macaw
535 feathers hanging from the head onto the back. The Anantxá also wear
237 three large macaw feathers in the same fashion, but two are from the blue and yellow macaw and only the middle one is red; in addition, they wear on their arms the white breast fluff of the king vulture. The Vuirantxinió are not differentiated from the Tãnãvé. The Vuanankóra wear smaller red feathers from the tail of the macaw, hanging from the head onto the back. The Vuirantxína are similarly adorned and also wear macaw fluff on their arms.

192 Concerning the word apatxirũ, Curt Nimuendajú wrote me as follows in a letter dated February 20, 1936: "The Tapirapé word apatxirũ is the usual Tupí term for a gathering of people for a common task (ordinarily, for one of the individuals involved)." [Ed., the remainder of the quotation, p. 98 and first paragraph on p. 99, is omitted.]

476 [99] On July 30, Kamairahó invited me to go with him to the
[123] apatxirũ. On the previous day, Chief Tanupantxóa had already begun the common felling of trees with several men.

In the afternoon we walked for about an hour through the forest toward the east, until we reached the spot where people were working

264 462 476 The pots were soon emptied. Then the women and girls came, picked them up, and took them home. The men followed. The Anantxá walked first, with the Vuirantxinió behind them and the Tãnãvé last. They kept this order, and sent me back to the rear when [123] I stepped--not unintentionally--in the midst of the Vuirantxinió.

[109] As soon as the village was in sight, things began to move. 535 The men ran straight to the takána and paired up for the dance. The women and girls showed no interest in this and for the most part had already gone to their huts.

The dancing pairs stood in a dense cluster in front of the entrance. In each pair, as was customary, one of the men held his arm across the other's shoulders, while his companion held his arm across the other's hips. Both held a club, bush knife, or bow in the other hand. In the midst of the group stood the leading pair, Tanupantxóa and Vuiraí, the ãntaĭva of the Anantxá. The Anantxá had now mixed with the Vuirantxinió. Of the Tãnãvé, only Kamairahó, Urukumĭ', and I had come. We stayed nearby as onlookers.

First, the men danced for a while on the same spot. As usual, they pawed the ground, all at the same time and always with the same foot, alternating from right to left, keeping their knees slightly bent and the middle part of the body slightly bent forward. Then the leading pair gradually moved away from the spot. They danced with small steps out of the takána. The others followed in the same fashion. They all moved, pair after the other, slowly, toward the house of Vũãtanamĭ', singing with sounds and shouts rather than words.

When they reached the house of the second leader, the procession broke up. They did not scatter, however, but remained close together. [110] The race began. It is called ãhéũĭ, which means "I 526 883 run." The adolescents, who were in their initiation year and hence had their faces and bodies completely blackened with genipap, ran two at a time in a straight line across the dance plaza to the back of Kamairahó's house. Actually, there was no spot to be reached first by the winner, and there was no applause from the spectators. It might almost be said that there was no winner. As a rule, indeed, the [156] desire to be singled out or to single out someone is not manifested by these Indians and is probably even regarded by them as a danger to the harmony of the community. These races seemed to be merely runs to be made as fast as possible across the plaza to convince the boys themselves of their own ability. As soon as the two runners reached

Ta 526 883 Kamairahó's house, they renewed their mutual holds and smiled graciously at each other (1).

Ta Ti [171] Ti 526

1. In a letter of February 20, 1936, Curt Nimuendajú wrote to me about the Timbira, a Gê tribe: "The Timbira also have a paired race across the village plaza (which is 300 meters in diameter). It is usually held following a more important ceremony. It is called ka-kaĩpũa (ka, 'village plaza,' and kaipũa, 'across')."

Ta 526 Later, some of the men also took part in the test, even the "old hunter" Kantxovanĩ. When darkness fell, they all went home. Only a dozen pairs had run altogether, for they had started out when the sun had already sunk behind the forest.

Ta 476 [535] [526] [111] On the following afternoon there was another apatxirũ at a different spot. The participants were so few that there was no dancing or racing. Two days later, a bigger apatxirũ was held with all the features, this time to the northwest of the village. Thus, apatxirũ are held on different days and at different places. Not all the men take part. Some work for themselves in their gardens, and others stay home. [Ed., Plates 1-26 are omitted since they concern tribes other than the Tapirapé.]

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Plate 27.

Tapirapé Dance of Men and Women.

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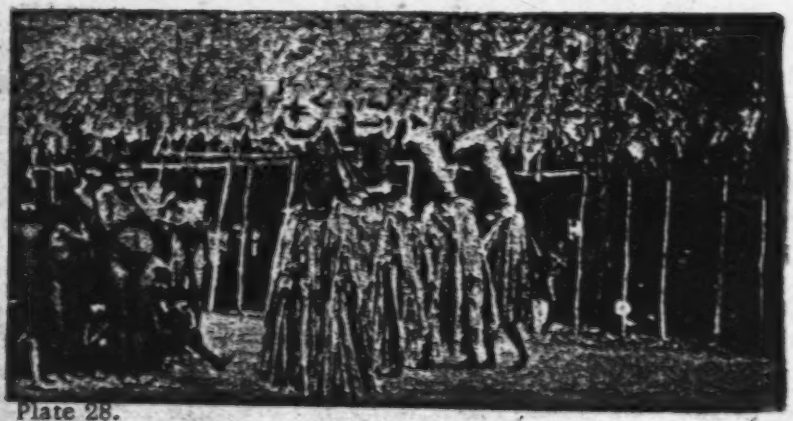

Plate 28.

Tapirapé Masked Dance.

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Plate 31.

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Tapirapé Woman Pounding Urucú.

Plate 32.

Tapirapé Masked Dancer.

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

Ta 262 Te 262 168 "hungry for meat". Although empirical data are not available, it is my impression that meat is (and was in the past) just as scarce in Tenetehara villages, and during the rainy season fish are extremely difficult to catch. The Tenetehara, with roughly the same food supply as the Tapirapé, do not feel called upon to impose drastic limitations upon the family size. Ta 168 183 262 Population control among the Tapirapé seems to result from a direct limitation imposed by food supply but from culturally derived values. In other words, although family limitation among the Tapirapé has a basis in subsistence, it does not derive from a minimum starvation situation. Family limitation seems to be related to a desire for a specific food, which the organism needs but which is also selected by Tapirapé culture as particularly desirable.

Ta 161 168 182 [165] This population policy of the Tapirapé with its explicit concept of maximum family size and the use of infanticide to limit the number of children must have maintained Tapirapé population in aboriginal times on a stable level. Even then, the balance between a stable and a declining population must have been a delicate one. With an increase in the death-rate from new disease for which they did not have an acquired immunity, this delicate equilibrium was thrown off balance. After Luso-Brazilian contact, the population declined rapidly. Tapirapé concepts of population limitation remained unchanged in face of modified circumstances and families were not large enough to replace the adult population. The less rigid population policy of the Tenetehara was conducive to a large population during aboriginal times and it made the Tenetehara less vulnerable than the Tapirapé to modifications in the external environment. Without doubt numerous Tenetehara died from new diseases, from war, and from slavery after contact with Luso-Brazilians, but their desire for large families must have allowed them to replace their population in at least sufficient numbers to survive until they were able to adjust to the new circumstances.

Te 161 168 182 [165]

Te Ta 596 591 612 Secondly, differences in social structure between the two tribes were also important in determining aboriginal population size as well as population trends after Luso-Brazilian contact. An extended family based upon at least temporary matrilocal residence and a widely extended bilateral kin group were basic social groupings of both the Tapirapé and the Tenetehara in aboriginal times. Tenetehara social structure was in fact limited to the extended family and the bilateral kin group. The Tapirapé, on the other hand, also had two other sets of social groups which were lacking in Tenetehara society. First, there were patrilineal ceremonial moieties limited to men. Each moiety was divided into three age-grades — boys, young men or warriors, and older men. Second, both men and women among the Tapirapé belonged to one of eight "Feast Groups" which were non-exogamous. Membership in these "Feast Groups" was patrilineal for men and matrilineal for women, although these rules were often modified by the personal desires of a parent. Both Tapirapé men's moieties and age grades and the "Feast Groups" were basic to all ceremonials and important in economic production and distribution. The masked dances with impersonation of

Ta 616 561

Ta 476 264 574 616 [196] [535]

10: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940)1951 SP22 Tapirapé SP22
Tenetehara 506

forest spirits performed by the men during the dry season were a function of the men's moieties. The "Feast Groups" met at intervals during the dry seasons at their traditional stations in the central plaza for ceremonial meals. At such times, as Herbert Baldus has shown, these "Feast Groups" functioned as a mechanism for food distribution in a season when more food was available than a family would normally consume. (7) The "Feast Groups" sometimes formed to collect honey and to hunt. The age grades of the men's moieties also frequently acted together economically; they organized work parties for clearing of large garden sites and they went out on large cooperative hunts after herds of wild pigs.

In aboriginal Tapirapé society ceremonial life and many important cooperative subsistence activities were based upon this balanced set of associations. A Tapirapé village in order to assure adequate representation in the various age grades of the men's moieties as well as in the "Feast Groups" by necessity had to consist of about 200 people or more. A small village of fifty to a hundred people, for example, would not have provided sufficient number of males of the proper ages to allow the age graded moieties to carry out their ceremonials nor to organize their cooperative subsistence activities. Tapirapé village organization was therefore not conducive to a process of "splitting off" of groups from one village to form another. The size of Tapirapé villages was limited by their tecnological equipment within their tropical forest environment yet the social structure made the formation of numerous small villages difficult. In contrast, the less formalized social structure of the Tenetehara allowed for villages of varying size within the limits of their ecological adjustment. Extended family groups easily might break off from a larger village to form a new settlement fully able to carry out the cooperative economic activities and even ceremonials of the society. This process is constantly occurring in contemporary Tenetehara society. When tensions arise between extended families, one group simply splits off from the parent village to join another or to form a separate village without serious effects on the ceremonial or economic system. Tenetehara social structure offered a favorable condition for an expanding population after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected population.

Tapirapé social structure seems also to have been more vulnerable to disorganization in face of a rapid change in population size. Rapid depopulation after Luso-Brazilian contact among the Tapirapé seriously affected the normal functioning of their highly segmented and balanced social structure. By 1940, the lack of men had thrown the system of reciprocal and competitive activities of the men's age-graded moieties out of balance. There were not enough men of the "older" age-grade of either moiety nor of the young men "warrior" age-grade of one moiety to form functioning units to reciprocate in cooperative garden clearing and to participate in group hunts. Several of the "Feast Groups" had been disbanded for lack of numbers

(7). Baldus (1937) p. 88 ff.

881 [302] On the eve of the ritual, the preparations begin. The youth's body is painted black with genipap. On his face, a black line is drawn under the mouth and a circle under the eyes, which are elongated with a line at the corners. The father or uncles put the last [346] touches on a large diadem. At dawn on the day of the ceremony, the youth is led to the large ceremonial house built in the center of the Tapirapé village, and his hair is set to support the large [292] [237] ankungitana (diadem) made of numerous macaw, parrot, and duck feathers fastened to a base of muriti palm and hard wood and weighing about five kilograms. The hair is trimmed and tied into a roll [302] on the nape of the neck with a cord at least five meters long, to provide a base for the fastening of the large diadem. The lower lip [301] is adorned with a ceremonial quartz tembetá [Tr., cylindrical plug].

[535] The ceremony itself begins late in the morning. For 24 hours the youth dances continually, surrounded by his fellow tribesmen and accompanied by the songs and dances of men and women. He dances ill at ease, for he is soon tired by the weight and discomfort of the ornaments. Tapirapé tradition explains this ritual as a test of endurance for the young men. According to one legend, a Tapirapé ancestor called Xavanamu and his son Makanci were captured by an enemy tribe. Xavanamu was eaten, and his son was forced to dance under the weight of a large diadem and the numerous ornaments that covered his body. At the end of a long day of dancing, Makanci, who had retained his strength, managed to flee and disappeared into the woods followed closely by his foes. He vanished on reaching a large hollow trunk. Nowadays, Tapirapé youths wear ornaments similar to those left behind by their ancestor.

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In 1941, when we witnessed the "hair-tying" of the youth Kanc̃inampiô, several Tapirapé predicted that he would cry "for he would become very tired during the night," but the boy stood up valiantly to the test. It is in another way, however, that men recall their initiation. One of them said, "When I danced, I was more beautiful than at any other time." It is true that at no other time of life does the individual get so much attention and make such a show with such rich ornaments. And this during adolescence!

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Thus, the Tapirapé turn this ceremony into an opportunity for fun, which their men recall more or less in the same manner as our youths recall their first ball.

11: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1945 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

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[Facing p. 16]

Tapirapé Indian in the Coming-of-age Dance.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

those for group singing during the harvest ceremonies and the ceremony of kawi (p. 176); those for the masked dancers during the dry season; and a very large number of songs specifically for the "Big Sing" (monikahô) during the latter part of the rainy season. During this period (approximately March through April), singing takes place throughout each night from sundown to sunrise. On these occasions, the singing leader and the men of one of the moieties introduce the verse of each song and the refrain is then taken up by the men of the other moiety and the women of the tribe. Women sing in a higher key than the men and, generally, a phrase behind the men. The songs of the masked dancers, each representing a supernatural being, differ stylistically from those used on other occasions in being sung in a falsetto tone, in a manner similar to that of the neighboring *Carajá*. Many such songs have been admittedly learned from the *Carajá*.

Dancing.—Both men and women dance as they sing. In general, the *Tapirapé* dance bending slightly forward, stamping out the time of the music with one foot. Dancing differs greatly, however, according to the occasion. During the harvest ceremonies, men dance in a line, side by side, each man's wife dancing directly behind him. During the group singing of the "Big Sing," the men dance in moiety groups facing each other, and women dance behind the moiety group of their husbands. On one occasion during this time, men dance with women, side by side, with a curious skipping step.

Games.—Men's moieties run foot races against each other after the communal work festival (p. 168); they race in a straight line across the village plaza. Wrestling takes place at one wet-season ceremony, and, now and again, throughout the year as sport. The *Tapirapé* explain, however, that the *Carajá* are better wrestlers and that it is more properly a *Carajá* sport. In wrestling, opponents stand face to face, grasping each other about the neck, and attempt to force or to trip the other to the ground. During one festival, men, one from each moiety at a time, compete by throwing blunt-headed spears at each other. Gambling games are unknown.

Stimulants.—Native tobacco, though used for leisure-time smoking, is principally a stimulant and medicine. A *Tapirapé* will not travel without a supply of tobacco to blow smoke over his tired body at the end of the day, in order to take out soreness and tiredness. Tobacco is necessary to shamans in all their activities. They blow tobacco smoke over the patient in curing (p. 177), and, to induce dreams and a trance, they swallow large gulps of smoke until they become intoxicated and nauseated. When people have seen ghosts, shamans fumigate them with tobacco smoke, in order to drive away the ghost's influence. Shamans fumigate new maize, the first honey of the season and, sometimes, fresh meat to drive out possible supernatural danger. This native tobacco is smoked

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940)1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

by laymen in short tubular wooden or clay pipes and by shamans, in tubular clay pipes, sometimes 12 inches (30 cm.) long.

The *Tapirapé* do not routinely plant tobacco as other crops. Occasionally, it is transplanted from scattered patches around the gardens and village to near the houses or gardens, but usually the patches merely seed themselves. A person who discovers a new patch, hastily surrounds it with a low fence to show his ownership of it.

No alcoholic beverages are known to the *Tapirapé*. Beverages made from manioc and maize are prepared as a food and are not allowed to ferment.

RELIGION

Tapirapé religion is based on the belief in two kinds of supernatural beings—disembodied souls of the dead, and malignant forest spirits of many kinds—both designated by one generic term, ančunga (spirit or shadow).

The ančunga iñawera, human spirits or ghosts (aña or anhanga among the *Tupinamba*), live in abandoned villages and frequently come near to the villages of the living "because they are cold" and try to warm themselves close to the houses. The *Tapirapé* are afraid of meeting them and try not to go out at night, when the ghosts most frequently appear.

Souls of the dead continue to live for an undetermined period of time, then die and are transformed into animals. Anyone who hears the croak of a kururú frog (*Pipa pipa*) knows that it is the soul of a leader. A pigeon is the soul of a common man; a paca, that of a woman. The souls of the shamans have a different fate; they go to join Thunder.

In addition to the souls of the dead, there is a large number of malignant beings, also called ančunga, who dwell in the forest. They are very dangerous and kill as many *Tapirapé* as they find. Waré, a legendary hero and a great shaman, had the distinction of killing many ančunga, among whom were the awakú aniá, by setting their long coarse hair on fire. The mumplaniá were beings who killed men in order to drink their blood. Some of these forest spirits have become domesticated by the *Tapirapé*, thanks to the powers of their shamans. Several times the *Tapirapé* men dance with masks representing the visiting spirits (pl. 19, *bottom, right*).

Rites.—The real ceremonial season is the rainy season, when the people are thrown together because they can neither farm nor hunt. Mask dances celebrate the visits of the various spirits (ančunga) to the men's house during the dry season. At the end of the rainy season the harvest ceremonial (kaô) and the ceremony of kawi (a souplike beverage made of sweet manioc or of maize) are held.

In the first few months of the rainy season, when the maize crop is threatened by electrical storms and by the first heavy rains, the shamans